

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----069232 101216Z /53

O R 101140Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0537
INFO AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USBERLIN

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 13037

EXDIS

DEPT PASS INFO USDEL SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: RH, UK, GW, PDEV
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: APPROACH TO FRG

REF: (A) STATE 187016

SUMMARY: BRITISH CHARGE AND I PRESENTED OUR RHODESIAN PROPOSALS TO VAN WELL ON AUGUST 9. VAN WELL REACTED POSITIVELY AND PROMISED TO INFORM SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER IMMEDIATELY. FRG WILL STUDY THE DETAILS OF OUR PROPOSALS BEFORE REACTING TO INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS OF OUR PROPOSALS, SUCH AS THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. VAN WELL ALSO NOTED THAT COINCIDENCE OF OUR INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA, CURRENT TALKS ON NAMIBIA, THE LAGOS CONFERENCE, AND SOVIET ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPON DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM PUTS SOUTH AFRICA

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UNDER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE. END SUMMARY.

1. IN THE ABSENCE OF FONMIN GENSCHER, BRITISH CHARGE BULLARD AND I CALLED ON STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL AUGUST 9 TO GIVE HIM A COPY OF THE BRITISH-US PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA TRANSMITTED REFTEL. VAN WELL WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT

SECRETARY JESSER AND A NOTETAKER. THE BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS WERE VERY SIMILAR TO OURS, EXCEPT THAT THEY HAD SEPARATE TALKING POINTS ON THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND (ZDF). AS A CONSEQUENCE, I TOOK THE LEAD, BUT LET BULLARD HANDLE MOST OF THE QUESTIONS ON THE ZDF. WE BOTH STRESSED THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF OUR APPROACH.

2. I TOLD VAN WELL THAT OUR PROPOSALS WERE DESIGNED TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE SMITH REGIME AND TO PERSUADE THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE NATIONALISTS, ESPECIALLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IN SUMMARIZING THE PROPOSALS, I NOTED THAT THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES FOR A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN/ONE VOTE FOR A SINGLE CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. I ALLUDED TO THE FLEXIBILITY IN THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION, POINTED OUT THAT A BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD FORBID DISCRIMINATION, SAID THAT THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT WOULD INHERIT THE ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT (INCLUDING PAST AND PRESENT PENSION OBLIGATIONS), AND CONCLUDED WITH THE PROMISE THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO FACILITATE ZIMBABWE'S BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

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3. ON THE TRANSITION PERIOD, I EMPHASIZED THAT IT IS OUR BASIC PREMISE THAT THE PRESENT REGIME WILL SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITION CAN BE PEACEFUL AND THAT THE MAXIMUM PERIOD OF TRANSITION ENVISIONED IS SIX MONTHS. I THEN OUTLINED POINTS A) THROUGH F) IN PARA 11 OF REFTTEL. VAN WELL HAD A QUESTION ON ONLY ONE POINT: WILL THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BE FROM THE UK? BULLARD POINTED OUT THAT HE WOULD BE APPOINTED BY THE UK, BUT WOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE A BRITISH CITIZEN.

4. ON THE ZDF, I NOTED THAT THE FUND WILL HAVE A MINIMUM TARGET APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM OF RATHER LESS THAN \$1.5 BILLION, AND THAT GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. BULLARD ADDED THAT THE FRG KNOWS THE KEY DETAILS OF THE FUND PROPOSALS FROM OUR TALKS LAST DECEMBER. HE UNDERLINED THAT THE FUND IS NOT INTENDED TO COMPENSATE ANY SEGMENT OF RHODESIAN SOCIETY FOR THE HARDSHIPS OF TRANSITION. HE TOLD VAN WELL THAT WE HAVE TAKEN SOME SOUNDINGS WITH THE IBRD, WHICH REVEAL THAT THE BANK IS WILLING IN PRINCIPLE TO MANAGE THE FUND ON AN AGENCY BASIS. THIS ARRANGEMENT, IF IT COMES

ABOUT, WILL NOT DEROGATE FROM THE AUTHORITY OF THE

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O R 101140Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0538
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GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE.

5. JESSER ASKED IF THE PROPOSED ZDF IS A NEW IDEA OR A REVIVAL OF LAST DECEMBER'S PROPOSAL, AND WHO IS BEING ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN IT. BULLARD REPLIED THAT IT IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PROPOSAL AS LAST YEAR AND THAT WE ARE SEEKING WIDE PARTICIPATION. HE NOTED THAT LAST YEAR WE HAD ASKED THE FRG TO CONTRIBUTE 10 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL FUND AND ASSERTED THAT SUCH A CONTRIBUTION WOULD EQUAL WHAT THE FRG SPENDS ANNUALLY ON THE MAINTENANCE OF AUTOBAHNS. VAN WELL CLAIMED THAT THE ZDF IS NOT THE KEY ELEMENT IN OUR PROPOSALS. RATHER, THE POLITICAL RECEPTION OF OUR INITIATIVE WILL DETERMINE ITS SUCCESS OR FAILURE.

6. VAN WELL SAID THAT THE DETAILS OF THE FUND PROPOSAL ARE IMPORTANT. HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVES

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ZIMBABWE WILL BE ELIGIBLE FOR NORMAL AID FROM EXISTING SOURCES AND ASKED WHEN WE ENVISION SETTING UP THE ZDF. BULLARD POINTED OUT THAT THE ZDF IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. I ADDED THAT IT IS DESIGNED TO MAKE THE PROPOSALS MORE ATTRACTIVE. VAN WELL ASKED IF THE ZDF WILL BE A DEVELOPMENT FUND AND IF IT WILL FACILITATE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS, TO WHICH WE REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE.

7. I CONCLUDED MY SUMMARY OF OUR PROPOSALS BY PROMISING THAT WE WOULD TRANSMIT THE THREE ANNEXES TO THE FRG. I THEN OUTLINED THE TIMETABLE OF MEETINGS LISTED IN PARA 5 OF REFTEL AND TOLD VAN WELL THAT IT WOULD GREATLY STRENGTHEN OUR HAND IF WE COULD INDICATE TO BOTHA WHEN WE TALK TO HIM THAT THE FRG SUPPORTS OUR PROPOSALS. WE ASKED HIM TO INSTRUCT THE FRG EMBASSY IN PRETORIA TO INDICATE FRG SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS TO THE SAG EARLY IN THE WEEK OF AUGUST 14 AND ALSO REQUESTED AN INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE THE ZDF. FINALLY, WE EMPHASIZED THAT OUR PLANS INCLUDE REFERENCE OF OUR PROPOSALS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AT WHICH TIME, IF NOT BEFORE, THE FRG WILL BE INVOLVED. I TOLD VAN WELL THAT IF THE PROPOSALS DO NOT WORK, IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO EXPAND PRESENT SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA, IN WHICH CASE ANY MANDATORY RESOLUTIONS WOULD BE CLOSELY RELATED TO THE EXISTING CHAPTER 7 DETERMINATION ON RHODESIA. I CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT, EVEN IF THE AFRICANS REJECT OUR PROPOSALS, WE WILL PROCEED WITH PRESENTATION TO THE UN.

8. VAN WELL QUESTIONED US ON THE RELATIONSHIP

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BETWEEN ANY NEW MANDATORY RESOLUTIONS AND THE EXISTING CHAPTER 7 DETERMINATION. HE INDICATED HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED ANY NEW ACTIONS "TO BE BASED ON," RATHER THAN "RELATED TO" THE EXISTING DETERMINATION.

9. VAN WELL REACTED POSITIVELY TO OUR PRESENTATION. HE PROMISED TO INFORM CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND FONMIN GENSCHER, BOTH OF WHOM WERE IN HAMBURG, IMMEDIATELY. THE FONOFF WILL STUDY THE DETAILS OF OUR PROPOSALS

AND WILL BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH US IN THE NEAR FUTURE.
VAN WELL EMPHASIZED THAT THE FRG SUPPORTS THE BRITISH-
US EFFORTS ON RHODESIA, IS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE
FIVE'S EFFORTS ON NAMIBIA, AND WANTS TO DO ANYTHING

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IT CAN TO ASSIST OUR PRESENT INITIATIVES. HE ALSO
NOTED THAT OUR PRESENT INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA COINCIDED
WITH OUR TALKS ON NAMIBIA, THE UPCOMING LAGOS CONFER-
ENCE, AND THE SOVIET ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE SOUTH
AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPON DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. ALL
THESE DEVELOPMENTS COMING TO A HEAD AT ONE TIME WILL
MAKE THE SOUTH AFRICANS FEEL THAT THEY ARE UNDER
CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE.

10. BULLARD TOLD VAN WELL THAT WE HAVE ALSO INFORMED
THE FRENCH AND CANADIANS OF OUR RHODESIAN PROPOSALS.
AFTER INFORMING THE FIVE WESTERN SC MEMBERS, WE WILL
BE TALKING WITH ONE OR TWO OTHER INFLUENTIAL GOVERN-
MENTS.

11. COMMENT: VAN WELL'S REACTION WAS AS POSITIVE AS
WE COULD EXPECT. HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE
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ANY COMMITMENTS, ESPECIALLY ON THE ZDF. I ANTICIPATE
THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE GOOD SUPPORT FROM
THE FRG FOR OUR INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN-
CLUDING RHODESIA. THE FRG'S SPECIFIC POSITION ON
INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS IN OUR PROPOSALS, SUCH AS THE ZDF,
WILL BE DETERMINED AFTER A STUDY OF THE DETAILS OF OUR
PROPOSALS. ANY INDICATION THAT OUR PROPOSALS ARE
POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES INVOLVED, AND,
AS A CONSEQUENCE, PROMISE TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION
IN RHODESIA, WOULD BE HELPFUL.

12. BULLARD MENTIONED TO ME BEFORE OUR MEETING WITH
VAN WELL THAT HE HAD A REPORT OF AN APPROACH TO THE
SHAH BY THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN AMBASSADORS CON-
CERNING OIL SUPPLIES. HE ALSO MENTIONED AN AGREED
APPROACH TO OTHER OIL PRODUCING STATES, WHICH HAS
BEEN DEFERRED AT OUR REQUEST UNTIL AFTER THE MEETING
WITH BOTHA ON AUGUST 12. IF WE COULD INFORM THE FRG
OF THESE ACTIONS, IT WOULD GIVE THE GERMANS A FULLER
PICTURE OF OUR TOTAL EFFORT AND LEND FURTHER EVIDENCE
OF THE SUCCESS POTENTIAL OF OUR PROPOSALS.
STOESSEL

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